1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 292 Ifalik

"Either far or far en Nuta may be used for hats of flaring conical shape, which are sometimes used by men while fishing. These are called trelivar. Another name, parong, is used only among men. It refers to the under side of the penis, where the edge of the glans has an outline resembling the shape of these hats. A light hoop of gabwi wood forms the rim. To this are attached strips of coconut leaflet midrib which form ribs. They are gathered together in a point at the top. Pandanus leaves, whole except for trimmed edges, are laid vertically over this frame, overlapping and sewed on with horizontal seams of fine sennit cord. A band of the leaf, finely plaited like one of the small baskets, holds the leaves together at the top."

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 292 Woleai

Born calls the pointed hat tscholifadj.

28: Spiro--70-71
116, 755, 535, 292

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 ·2
Ifalik

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were

the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

080 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the